Early chiropractic education in Oregon

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Chiropractic education in the northwestern United States has its origins in the Marsh School & Cure in 1904. Most of the early schools were located in Portland, Oregon, including the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic (1908–1910), and several of these had merged by 1912 or 1913 to form the Pacific Chiropractic College, forerunner of today's Western States College. The latter was organized as a non-profit institution during the Great Depression, and struggled not only to survive but to create a higher standard. The early broadscope of chiropractic training in the state probably encouraged the liberal scope of practice enjoyed in Oregon to this day.

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KEY WORDS: chiropractic, education, history.

L'enseignement de la chiropratique dans le nord-ouest des États-Unis tire son origine de la Marsh School & Cure fondée en 1904. La plupart des premières écoles étaient situées à Portland, en Oregon, y compris le D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic (de 1908 à 1910). Vers 1912 ou 1913, plusieurs d'entre elles se sont unies pour créer le Pacific Chiropractic College, précurseur de l'actuel Western States College. Le premier collège était une institution à but non lucratif, fondée durant la Crise de 1929, et a dû non seulement se battre pour survivre, mais créer des normes supérieures. Le début de l'enseignement à grande échelle de la chiropratique dans l'État a probablement encouragé, jusqu'à aujourd'hui, l'étendue libérale de la pratique en Oregon. (JACC 2002; 46(1):39–60)

MOTS CLÉS: chiropratique, education, histoire.

Introduction

Several of the older chiropractic colleges are amalgamations of schools that have long since passed from the scene. Most noteworthy are the National University of Health Sciences and the Southern California University of Health Sciences (see Table 1). The former comprises at least 25 institutions, while the latter includes not less than 19. Adding to the complexity is the fact that some of the schools absorbed were themselves amalgamations of former training institutes, and that some colleges changed their names repeatedly. These tortuous institutional genealogies reflect the changing fortunes within chiropractic and naturopathic

education (e.g., enrollment surges and declines, shifting allegiances, licensing laws and "philosophies" of the schools).

Less well remembered are the several schools which evolved into today's Western States Chiropractic College (WSCC). Although this institution may be the second oldest of chiropractic schools (after Palmer College in Davenport) and includes the only other surviving school founded by D.D. Palmer, its roots have received relatively little attention.^{3,4} However, it would be an oversimplification to state that WSCC evolved from the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic, for this was but one of its several forerunners.

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Table 1 Several schools absorbed or renamed by the National University of Health Sciences, founded 1906, and the Southern California University of Health Sciences, founded in $1911^{1,2}$

National University of Health Sciences		Southern California University of Health Sciences		
American College of	Kansas State Chiropractic College	Cale College of Chiropractic	Eclectic College of	
Mechano-Therapy	International Chiropractic College	Cale College of Naturopathy	Chiropractic*	
American College of	Lincoln Chiropractic College	California Chiropractic College	Golden State College of	
Naprapathy	Lindlahr College of Naturopathy	of Oakland**	Chiropractic	
Carver Chiropractic Institute of	Metropolitan Chiropractic College	California College of Natural	Hollywood College of	
New York	National College of Chiropractic	Healing Arts	Chiropractic	
Central State College of	National College of Drugless	Chiropractic College of	Hollywood College of	
Physiatrics	Physicians	America	Naturopathy	
Chiropractic Institute of	National School of Chiropractic	College of Chiropractic	Los Angeles College of	
New York	New York School of Chiropractic	Physicians & Surgeons	Chiropractic	
Colorado Chiropractic	O'Neil-Ross Chiropractic College	College of Naturopathic	Pasadena Chiropractic College	
University	Peerless College of Chiropractic	Physicians & Surgeons	San Francisco College of	
Cosmopolitan School of	Progressive College of	Continental College of	Chiropractic	
Chiropractic	Chiropractic	Chiropractic	Southern California College of	
Detroit College of Chiropractic	Standard Institute of Chiropractic	Drown College of Chiropractic	Chiropractic	
Eastern Chiropractic Institute	Universal Chiropractic College	Drown College of Radio	West Coast Chiropractic College	
Eclectic College of Chiropractic*	University of Natural Healing Arts	Therapy & Natural Healing		

^{**} There were many branches of the California Chiropractic College (Oakland, Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Jose); the name "California Chiropractic Colleges" also refers to the former California Chiropractic Educational Foundation, the non-profit holding corporation which absorbed the for-profit LACC and the non-profit Southern California College of Chiropractic in 1947.

Table 2
B.J. Palmer's list of Palmer School graduates during 1895–1905⁵

1. H.D. Reynard	15. Dr. Oas	29. S.M. Hunter	43. F.B.C. Eilersficken
2. Ira H. Lucas	16. Dr. Hananska	30. Andrew Coleman	44. W.L. Bowers
3. O.G. Smith	17. Dr. Evans	31. Dr. Bennett	45. Chas. G. Munro
4. Minora C. Paxsion	18. G.B. Danelz	32. C.D. Sprague	46. R.P. Rold
5. A.B. Wightman	19. Selma Doelz	33. C.E. Ashwill	47. W.F. Booth
6. M.A. Collier	20. E.E. Sutton	34. A.P. Davis	48. D.W. Resiland
7. A.S. Dresher	21. O.B. Jones	35. P.W. Hammerle	49. Dr. Raymond
8. S.D. Parrish	22. J.L. Hirely	36. Thomas Francis	50. Ernie Simon
9. A. Henry	23. S.M. Langworthy	37. Ella Bon	51. D.B. Baker
10. T.H. Story	24. W.J. Robb	38. C. Wright Dodd	52. Miss Eliza Murchison
11. Henry Gross	25. E.E. Jones	39. C.W. Konkler	53. Ray Stouder
12. J.E. Marsh	26. E.D.B. Newton	40. Mrs. M. Gould French	54. Dr. Schooley
13. Martha Brake	27. E. Ellsworth Schwartz	41. Edward D. Schoffman	55. Ralph Graham
14. J.J. Darnell	28. A.G. Boggs	42. C.H. Fancher	56. Cha's. Ray Parker

Getting started

The earliest known training institution in Oregon was the Marsh "School and Cure," located at "Southeast Fifth & Hall" in Portland. Its founder, John E. Marsh, D.C., was a

graduate in 1904 of "a Minnesota 'School & Cure," also known as the "Brainiard School" and as "Dr. Lynch's School of the Brainiard College" in Minnesota. According to Anna Powell, D.C., wife of the 1907 founder of the

Pacific College of Chiropractic, Dr. Marsh established his practice and school in Portland in 1904. If the source of Marsh's chiropractic degree is accurate, it would seem to be the same school from which Dr. Almeda Haldeman took her training and diploma in 1905.⁶ However, B.J. Palmer also listed a "J.E. Marsh" as one of 56 graduates of the Palmer School (see Table 2) during 1895–1905,⁵ presumably but not necessarily the same individual.

The Marsh School had relocated to the Fliedner Building in Portland by 1907, and may have assumed a new name, the "Pacific Chiropractic College." The school was not listed in local directories, and was presumably not incorporated.⁴ If its operations mirrored those of other early chiropractic training institutions, it may not have involved much more than an apprenticeship at first. Marsh was reportedly active in seeking legislation for the young profession, and was partly responsible for an early state society of chiropractors. One of his first graduates and a collaborator in the lobbying activity was William O. Powell (Class of 1905). Marsh and Powell operated a "Chiropractic Health Home" in Dayton, Oregon in 1905.⁷ The pair were

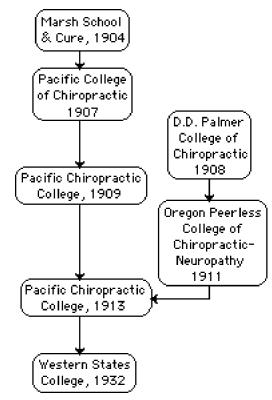


Figure 1 Institutional genealogy of WSCC.



Figure 2 This gathering of Oregon's chiropractors in July 1908 for a ten-day lecture series by B.J. Palmer includes several school leaders; William O. Powell, D.C. is second from the left in the back row; John E. Marsh, D.C., Mabel Palmer, D.C. and John E. LaValley, D.C. are second, third and fourth from left in the middle row; L.M. Gordon, D.C. is at far right in middle row; B.J. Palmer, D.C. is seen center, front row.

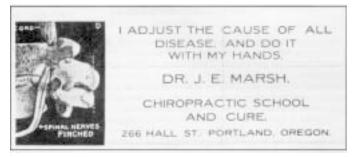


Figure 3 Business card of William O. Powell, D.C.

successful in "drafting an exemption to the new Oregon medical bill, originally written to completely ban the chiropractic profession".⁴ They also incorporated the Pacific College of Chiropractic (PCC) in 1909 (also then referred to as "Pacific Chiropractic College"), and Powell took over as CEO.⁴

By May 1910, a college catalogue listed Powell as president, Newton J. Baxter, D.D.S., D.C. as vice president and dean of faculty, A.N. Briggs, D.C. as treasurer and trustee, and Minnetta H. Baxter, D.C. (wife of Newton) as a faculty member.⁸ The Baxters were 1910 graduates of the institution.⁴ Marsh had departed the school by this time, and had relocated to Prineville. His departure was apparently due to a dispute with Mrs. Baxter; "the Baxters controlled the finances" of the school.⁴ Powell gave his degrees as D.C. and "Ps.D.," presumably a doctorate in psychology, and was listed as instructing in chiropractic philosophy, psychology, symptomatology and



Figure 4
Campus of the Pacific College of Chiropractic, circa 1910.

adjusting. Betraying the naiveté of its authors, the catalogue mentioned a "scientific slant" to the curriculum involving "the installation of a chemical laboratory due to the efforts of Dr. R.A. Phillips".⁴

The catalogue also indicated that the school was chartered as a non-profit corporation "under the educational laws of the State of Oregon"; if this is accurate, it would be one of the very first non-profit institutions in the profession. The school offered a two-term curriculum (each term referred to as a "year") of specified coursework (see Table 3). "Special lectures" in "Psychology, Obstetrics, Surgical Emergencies, First Aid to the Injured, and Care of the Teeth and Mouth" were promised. Tuition was \$150 for the entire course, payable in advance. A "Master of Ease" degree was also offered for chiropractors wishing advanced training in "the higher branches of Life Philosophy. The laws of Physical and Psychical Expression, and the Philosophy of Ease". 10

The PCC announced its relocation to "409 Commonwealth Building" at the corner of Sixth and Burnside streets in Portland in the summer of 1910. The City Directory for 1912 indicated a re-organization of administration and faculty, with Edwin F. Mckee serving as president and Powell as secretary of the college corporation. The school continued in operation until 1913, at which time it merged with the Oregon Peerless College of Chiropractic-Neuropathy, Inc. The amalgamation preserved the Pacific Chiropractic College name; whether the new school maintained its non-profit status is not known. During its early life, the PCC competed for students with none other than D.D. Palmer. The Oregon Peerless College, with which it



Figure 5
Emblem of the Pacific College of Chiropractic, Inc., 1910.

Table 3
Curriculum of the Pacific College of Chiropractic, 1910–1911

"<u>First Year</u>"
5 September 1910 through 30 January 1911

"Second Year"

1 February 1911 through 29 June 1911

Anatomy
Osteology
Chiropractic Physiology
Osteological Analomies [sic]
Chiropractic Symptomatology
Psychology (1st book)
Philosophy & Science of Chiropractic

Advance Anatomy
Art of Chiropractic Application
Plastic & Orthopedic Surgery
Junior Palpation & Nerve Tracing
Psychology (2nd book) with Practical Demonstration
Analysis from Palpation & Nerve Tracing
Senior Palpation & Adjusting in Open Clinic

later merged, was itself the descendant of the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic.

Enter the founder

The father of chiropractic severed his relationship with the Palmer School in Davenport in 1906 following his release from Scott County Jail. An arbitrated settlement of the interest that he, his son and daughter-in-law held in that first chiropractic institution was arranged. "Old Dad Chiro," as he referred to himself, relocated with his fifth wife, Molly Hudler, to the growing frontier town of Medford, Oklahoma, where his brother, Thomas J. Palmer, published a newspaper. 12, p. 116 "T.J." assisted his elder brother in establishing a grocery business, and D.D. continued to treat a few patients and train a few students. Although the store was lucrative, Old Dad Chiro's heart was not in it. His yearning for the school busi-

ness was strong, and when he received an invitation from his former attorney, Willard Carver, LL.B., D.C., to visit his school in Oklahoma City, D.D. was quick to accept.

Carver had envisaged a faculty position or partnership for his chiropractic mentor, but Palmer instead established himself in competition with the Carver Chiropractic College. The business rivalry would not last long, however. The Palmer-Gregory College of Chiropractic operated in Oklahoma City for only a few months before Palmer abandoned his new partner, Alva Gregory, M.D., D.C. Gregory, a graduate of the University of Texas medical school at Galveston¹⁵ and later of the Carver-Denny School of Chiropractic, disagreed with the founder over the nature of the chiropractic lesion and the appropriate role of spinal adjusting. ^{16, p. 278} The Palmer-Gregory College continued in operations for several years, and merged temporarily with the St. Louis College of Chiropractic. ¹⁷



Figure 6 Carver-Denny School of Chiropractic, Oklahoma City, circa 1907.



Figure 7 Drs. Alva Gregory and D.D. Palmer, circa 1908 (photo courtesy of Texas Chiropractic College).



Figure 8 Dr. Wilbert Gorby, circa 1930.

Palmer may have been employed by or a partner for a short time with Wilbert R. Gorby, B.S., D.C. and Roy R. Hinkley, D.C., who operated the Southwestern Chiropractic Institute in the Kelley Building on Main Street in Oklahoma City during 1907–08. 18 Palmer related that he had presided over the "Gorby and Hinkley School". 19, p. 420 Historian Gielow also suggests that Palmer established yet another college, the "Fountain Head School," in the spring of 1908, 12, p. 119 presumably in Oklahoma City. However, D.D. was disposed to refer to whatever institution he operated as the "Fountain Head"; his first issue of The Chiropractic Adjuster magazine, released in December 1908, made this clear.²⁰ Old Chiro refers to the "D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic," listed in the first issue of the Adjuster at "513 W. Grand, Oklahoma City," as the "Fountain Head School":

WANTED 1000

CHIROPRACTORS

To Work for The

FOUNTAIN HEAD SCHOOL

Conducted By

D.D. PALMER

204 Oregonian Bldg. PORTLAND, OREGON

It was part of the feud between father and son over who could legitimately used the "Fountain Head" designation. While he lectured and taught in Oklahoma, D.D. was chagrined to find that B.J. had been visiting with chiropractors in Portland,⁴ and perhaps was planning to establish yet another "Palmer" school in that city.²¹ Once a singular

chiropractic trademark, the Palmer "brand" was rapidly diluting.

One last lecture, to an audience at the Southwestern Chiropractic Institute, took place on 15 October 1908.²² Then Palmer headed north, stopping first in Salt Lake City.²³ The *Evening Telegram* of Oklahoma City reported on the 31st that he was visiting in Portland, and Palmer's former student, Elizabeth Helfrich, D.C. wrote to the founder on 5 November to express her regrets that he would not be returning to Oklahoma. On Monday, 9 November 1908, the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic opened for business in Room 205 Oregonian Building in the "City of Roses." Palmer loved Portland:

Roses fragrant, roses rare; roses, roses everywhere.

Portland is the "Rose City." It is a great city of 250,000. The Portland of tomorrow will have a half-million. It has one of the world's greatest fresh-water harbors. Vessels drawing 30 feet come in from an ocean trip covered with barnacles; by the time they are ready to depart, their hulls are clean. This city has the purest, coldest water in the world, piped from the glaciers of Mount Hood, fifty miles distant.

Portland is a beautiful residence city. It is known as the city of roses, well justified by the carloads used at the Rose Festivals. Its climate is mild and equitable. Tourists wear the same clothing every day in the year. While their Eastern neighbors are sweltering with torrid heat or freezing with zero weather, they are enjoying our delightful climate, sleeping under a pair of blankets; feasting mentally on unsurpassed mountain, ocean and river scenery; physically enjoying every kind of fruit, vegetable and fish just caught from the wide ocean or mountain stream. Why not spend ten months in this pleasant climate, enjoy the comforts of Rose City and learn the grand science of Chiropractic from the lips of the man who has been fortunate in finding the cause of disease and for the good of others has developed it into a science that may be taught. ¹⁹, p.6

The D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic

Old Dad Chiro's decision to establish a school in Portland appears to have involved "a very flattering offer". ²⁴ The source and nature of this offer is not clear, but was not the young man who accepted D.D.'s offer to become a partner in the venture, Leroy M. Gordon, D.C., a 1906 graduate of the Palmer School in Davenport. (Gordon was depicted in a class photo, Illustration No. 25, of *The Science of Chiropractic.*) John E. LaValley, listed as a "D.C." by the



Figure 9 Leroy M. Gordon, D.C., 1909.

founder in January 1909 but not awarded a chiropractic diploma until October of that year, later wrote that he had contributed \$1,800 to establishing the school,⁴ so perhaps he was the source of the "flattering offer." However, it was Gordon who was listed as "Manager" (p. 2) and "Secretary-Treasurer ... and Instructor in Principles of Adjusting" (p. 50) of the new college in the January 1909 issue of *The Chiropractic Adjuster*. Not until later that year, when the school relocated to 419 Drexel Building, Second Avenue and Yamhill in Portland, did LaValley appear as "Manager." It is possible, of course, that LaValley had been a silent partner from the outset. Canadian-born, LaValley became a naturalized American citizen in 1923.²⁵

Palmer announced his new school and practice in the January 1909 issue of *The Chiropractor Adjuster*:

D.D. Palmer is associated with the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic. He has no interest, nor is he associated with any other. He is not in Mexico, Texas or Washington, as reported by misleading statements. When not in the schoolroom he will be found in his private office, room 305 New Scott Hotel, where he will be pleased to meet all those who are interested in the science he has discovered and developed. Young men and women, call and shake hands with the man who is the Founder of Chiropractic, the grandest and greatest science ever discovered ... Send in your dollar for The Adjuster one year; it will pay for the paper and postage; we will do the rest.

The new school proposed an 18-month curriculum in two nine-month terms, at a tuition cost of \$250 per year. This was decidedly one of the most extensive chiropractic educational offerings at the time. And though Willard Carver later claimed to have been first to give instruction

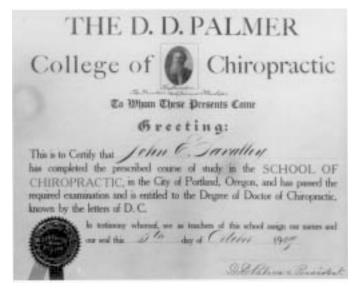


Figure 10 John E. LaValley, D.C.'s diploma, granted 5 October 1909 (courtesy of the W.A. Budden Library).



Figure 11 Palmer and the first class at the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic, 9 November 1908. Left to right seated: George S. Breitling, D.C., D.D. Palmer, E.L. Farnung, D.C., Leroy M. Gordon, D.C., A.N. Briggs, D.C. Left to right standing: George Eckerman, L.A. LaJoie, D.C., F.H. Armstrong, John E. LaValley, D.C., O.H. Scheetz, John E. Marsh, D.C., N.C. Hampton, W.E. Slater, and V.K. Tindra, M.D. (from the January 1909 issue of *The Chiropractor Adjuster*)

in "First Aid, Minor Surgery, Surgical Diagnosis and Obstetrics",²⁶ Palmer's school magazine described a course of instruction rarely seen in those early days:

If you are going to study Chiropractic, why not matriculate at the school that is presided over by the man – the master mind – who discovered and developed the greatest science known to humanity?

Why not learn Chiropractic first-handed, direct from the fountain head?

The D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic offers you this opportunity. Students at this school receive instructions under the direct supervision of Dr. D.D. Palmer, the man who found the cause of disease and developed a unique method of adjustment for correcting the same.

The course at this school covers a period of two years; nine months to the year.

The first year is devoted to Chiropractic and all that pertains to it, including a short course in dissection on the cadaver.

The second year, minor surgery, obstetrics, forensic jurisprudence and a full course of dissection.

Tuition, per year.....\$250.00

Adjustments at the D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic in ordinary cases \$10.00 each week for the first six weeks, payable in advance, or the first six weeks paid in advance \$50.00, following weeks \$5.00.

Special cases, as Cancers, Tumors and Epilepsy, \$20.00 first week, \$10.00 each week thereafter in advance ...

Address all communications to L.M. Gordon, D.C., Secretary, 205 Oregonian Building, Portland

Speculatively, the inclusion of obstetrics and gynecology may have been an influence upon the curriculum of D.D.'s local competitor, the Pacific College of Chiropractic. The breadth of instruction was in keeping with the founder's evolving conceptualization of the role of the chiropractor, and his obvious intent to compete with his allopathic rivals. He wrote:

... A Chiropractor should be able to care for any condition which may arise in the families under his care, the same as a physician; this we intend to make possible in a two year's course. ^{19, p. 789}

Despite the initially proposed curricular duration, by March 1909 D.D. indicated in a letter to a prospective student that "To obtain a diploma with the name of the discoverer, developer and founder, will take \$250; the time will depend largely upon your own efforts".²⁷ In fact, the

first class of 18 students²⁸ received its diplomas after only nine months of study.^{25,29} Since several of these first Portland students were already chiropractors, the truncation of the planned 18-month curriculum may imply that Old Chiro bowed to pressure for a shorter course. Presumably a second class was enrolled at the Portland institution, but by February 1910 the founder had obviously grown somewhat discouraged with his pupils:

... I could count on my two hands all of those who are desirous of knowing or capable of learning (either result being the same) all of Chiropractic as presented to the Portland class or to the readers of the Adjuster. If I can leave in this world ten educators who comprehend the principles of Chiropractic mutually associated as a science, those who can make a practical scientific application of the art of adjusting, that will be ten times more than the originator found when he began developing that first adjustment into a science and an art.³⁰

Palmer departed Portland sometime in 1910 or 1911, perhaps as a result of a classroom incident in which students had walked out following remarks in which D.D. reportedly "openly attacked him (B.J.) in class and made some unfortunate remark about his first wife, B.J.'s mother ..." (Anna Powell, D.C., quoted in 4). He headed for Los Angeles, where he established his residence and practice, 31 continued his writing, 32 and lectured at the Ratledge School, 33 today's Cleveland Chiropractic College of Los Angeles. But his sojourn in the Rose City had been a most productive time. His pen spread ink furiously as he produced the many issues of *The Chiropractor Adjustor* (see Table 4), and a condensation of these writings became his classic text. 19

Old Dad Chiro's time in Portland also saw a further development in his theories of chiropractic. Rejecting the bone-pinching-nerve concept of subluxation, he issued his new tension-regulation³⁴ concept of the skeletal framework and the chiropractic lesion. As early as January 1909 he made his new concept explicit: "... I doubt very much that nerves are ever pinched, squeezed or compressed anywhere. Nerves cannot be impinged between any two bones, vertebrae or other joints." Presumably, this theoretical twist is what his Portland students were taught. The announcement of the new hypothesis took an indirect stab at B.J. Palmer's claim to be the "Developer" of chiropractic:

Table 4 D.D. Palmer's publications, 1886–1914*

Date	Title of Periodical or Book
1886–1896	The Educator (not available?) The Magnetic Cure 1896 (Jan); No. 15 (Palmer College Archives)
1897–1902	The Chiropractic 1897 (Jan); No. 17 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractic 1897 (Mar); No. 18 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractic 1899; No. 26 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractic 1900; No. 26 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractic 1902; No. 29 (Palmer College Archives)
1903–1906	The Chiropractor 1904 (Dec); Vol. 1, No. 1 and all subsequent issues (Palmer College Archives) The Science of Chiropractic Davenport IA: Palmer School of Chiropractic, 1906 (unauthorized book of D.D. Palmer's writings published by B.J. Palmer; republished by the Parker Chiropractic Research Foundation, 1988)
1908–1910	The Chiropractor Adjuster 1908; Vol. 1, No. 1 (not available?) The Chiropractor Adjuster 1909a (Jan); Vol. 1, No. 2 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractor Adjuster 1909b (Mar); Vol. 1, No. 3 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractor Adjuster 1909c (Sept); Vol. 1, No. 6 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractor Adjuster 1909d (Dec); Vol. 1, No. 7 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractor Adjuster 1910 (Feb); Vol. 1, No. 8 (Palmer College Archives) The Chiropractor's Adjuster: the Science, Art & Philosophy of Chiropractic Portland OR: Portland Printing House, 1910 (widely available)
1914	<u>The Chiropractor</u> Los Angeles: Beacon Light Printing, 1914 (posthumously published by D.D. Palmer's widow; republished in 1970 by Health Research, Inc., Mokelumne Hill, California)
*Underlined i	tems are books rather than periodicals.

The science of Chiropractic makes another step forward, one in accord with and demonstrated by anatomy. This advance, like all others, with the one exception of the bifid table, which is credited to Dan Riesland or T.H. Story, has been made by the veteran developer, D.D. Palmer.

It has long been held by Chiropractors and of late by Osteopaths that functions were abnormal because of nerves pinched in the foramina or between joints. Now watch these two methods patch their sails.

We adjust the toes for corns and bunions; there are no nerves between the articulations; therefore nerves cannot be pinched by the displacement of these joints. The first and second pair of spinal nerves do not pass through intervertebral foramina, between two notches, but through long grooves which cannot impinge nerves as they pass outward; yet we have many diseases which are caused by displacements of the atlas, where there is no possibility of a nerve being pinched in the superior or inferior grooves of that vertebra. The above are facts which every thinker will admit. The theory of sub-luxations closing the two notches which form the foramina of the dorsal and lumbar vertebrae, thereby impinging the nerves as they pass through their openings, does look plausable [sic] when applied to those vertebrae, but will not hold good in any other joint. The business of the Chiropractor is to adjust any of the three hundred articular joints of the skeletal frame, but why do so if there are no nerves between the articular surfaces?



Figure 12 D.D. Palmer circa 1908, as depicted on the cover of every issue of *The Chiropractor Adjuster*, and in his 1910 volume, *The Chiropractor's Adjuster: the Science, Art and Philosophy of Chiropractic*.

We, as Chiropractors, never attempt to explain to a prospective student or patient how a displacement of the atlas pinches nerves as they pass outward through its grooves. True, we relieve abnormal conditions used by displacements of that vertebra, but it is not by relieving a pinched nerve³⁵

Palmer's stay in Oregon marked the introduction of the third of his chiropractic theories. ^{36–38} As he had before, D.D. heaped criticism on those who did not adopt and adhere to his revision of chiropractic. In the near term, his invective was pointed at his Portland rival, William Powell, who continued to speak of adjusting to relieve the pressure that supposedly "starved" the diseased end-organ. In rebuttal, Palmer asserted that "The cause of nearly all diseases is an over-supply of nerve force; therefore, we have fever". ³⁹ Although the "foot-on-the-hose" notion of subluxation would continue to be taught in Davenport and throughout most of the profession, Palmer's thinking had evolved, and he would take this final version of chiropractic with him to the grave (e.g., 32).

Likening the function of the nerves to the vibrations of the strings of a musical instrument, the father of chiropractic now believed that altered bio-mechanics (subluxations) changed the tension in nerves (too much or too little), thereby altering the neural message reaching endorgans. However, this innovation in theory would be lost on "straights" and "mixers" alike. One of the most frequent quotes of the founder, from his days in Portland, usually omits the mention of the joints of the foot that he found so relevant to describing his new theory:

I have never felt it beneath my dignity to do anything to relieve human suffering. The relief given bunions and corns by adjusting is proof positive that subluxated joints do cause disease. ^{19, p. 322}

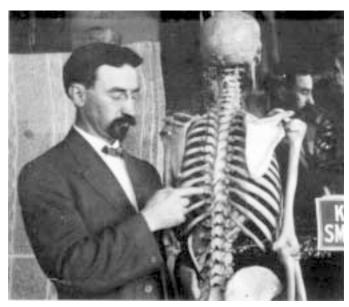


Figure 13 John E. LaValley, D.C., circa 1912.

Oregon Peerless College of Chiropractic-Neuropathy The founder's relationship with his second partner in the Portland school went sour some time late in 1909. LaValley recalled that:

Dr. Palmer was at this time writing his book on Chiropractic. In writing this book he did not seem to rely on himself alone but visit different doctors and get ideas from them and put them in his book as his own. After the graduation of the class he came to me and asked my opinion on a lecture on the creation of the calorific qualities and maintenance of the same. He knew I had looked the matter up ... I told him that when he had finished writing (his) book I would be glad to give him my opinion. This made him very angry and (he said) that I should leave – that he alone would run the school...But I demanded \$1800 that I had advanced in starting the school. He had not advanced a cent. So I became owner in fact.²⁵

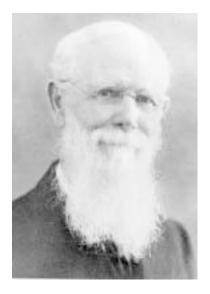


Figure 14 Dr. Andrew P. Davis.

LaValley recalled that he and two former students, William G. Hoffman and Daniel T. Browne, chartered the Oregon Peerless College of Chiropractic-Neuropathy, presumably in 1909. 28 "Chiropractic-Neuropathy" was apparently LaValley's creation, although the influence of Andrew P. Davis, M.D., D.O., D.C., N.D., Oph.D. one of Palmer's earliest students, seems very likely. Davis had operated several Neuropathic schools in the first decade of the new century, and located in Baker City, Oregon in February 1909. He may have sought Palmer's care for cataracts. 40,41 Neuropathy, one of several books on drugless healing that Davis authored, 42 was published during his stay in Oregon.

The chiropractor-neuropath ("D.C.-N.") did not differ in technique from D.D. Palmer's system: review of symptomatology, nerve-tracing and palpation were core methods of assessment, and adjusting subluxations was his method of intervention. As in his mentor's final theory, LaValley rejected the idea that nerves could be pinched in the intervertebral foramen; unlike Old Dad Chiro, he apparently restricted his clinical attention to spinal nerves (43). And he seems to have placed a slightly greater emphasis on the role of muscles in what today might be termed the "subluxation-complex":

PHYSIOLOGICAL IMPINGEMENT OF NERVES.

Bodily exercise restricted to one set of muscles, and especially when carried to excess, produces nerve irritation and results in abnormal contraction of muscles, which not only compress and interfere with the normal action, but may also gradually pull some of the vertebra from their true position and thereby cause a subluxation followed by a permanent tension on both muscles and nerves of the region, which is more than likely to end in disturbing the physiological functions of the internal vital organs. Similar results follow slight displacements of vertebra by violent movements and blows also falls. The correction of these irregularities by adjustments restores normal function to the nerves and organs as well as the muscles involved. 43, p. 16

The college's catalogue listed three officers of the institution, the same three who had incorporated the school:⁴ John E. LaValley, D.C.-N., "President, Philosopher of Chiropractic-Neuropathy," "Wm. G. Hoffman, S.D.C.-N., Vice-Pres.," and "Daniel T. Browne, S.D.C.-N., Sec.-Treas." Presumably, these three men also constituted the faculty. The catalogue did not indicate tuition costs. The school offered a 12-month D.C.-N. program, and "Short or Post-Graduate Courses" for any "Chiropractor, osteopath or medical man." The doctoral curriculum included:

Chiropractic-Neuropathy – Theory, Philosophy, Art, Hygienic.

Anatomy – Physiological, Pathological, Orthopedic, Special, Regional, Histological.

Osteology, Neurology and Physiology are taught thruout the course, as Chiropractic-Neuropathy is founded upon those especial branches of anatomy ...

The last six months of the course they treat clinic (free) patients, under the instructor's supervision. In this way they gain a practical working knowledge ... 43, pp. 22-6

LaValley claimed that his was the first chiropractic school to teach dissection in Oregon, but it is not clear whether this refers to the Oregon Peerless College, or its D.D. Palmer College predecessor. Oregon Peerless apparently graduated only one class, in 1912, hardly enough to be financially viable. Although LaValley later indicated that the school had continued in operation until 1924,²⁸ Ritter⁴ quotes Anna Powell, D.C.'s alternative description of the school's fate:

Peerless College hung on and graduated a class of seven in 1912 ... Peerless was about to close after graduating this one

class ... LaValley broached the subject of a merger to Dr. Powell. He (Powell), while sympathetic to the graduates of Peerless, was reluctant. Dr. LaValley brought pressure to bear through the State Association, and Peerless and Pacific were united. Dr. LaValley became a member of the faculty. Dr. Powell remained as president.



Figure 15 John E. LaValley, D.C., circa 1956.

LaValley's ability to force the amalgamation by means of the state association's influence remains to be further explored. Both LaValley and Powell were very actively involved in state professional politics, and by LaValley's account,²⁸ the two men founded the Oregon Chiropractic Association (OCA) in 1907. The state association's periodical, *Chi-Ro-Prac-Tic News*, listed both college leaders on the OCA's seven-man executive board and five-man legislative committee in February 1912. [The entire listed membership of the OCA included only 31 chiropractors at that time.] In any case, when the school's sixth annual catalogue was issued in 1915, LaValley was not listed on the faculty.

LaValley's assertion that his school had continued into the 1920s may be a reference only to the corporate charter for Oregon Peerless College. His autobiographical account indicates that the school was renamed or re-chartered as the Oregon State College of Chiropractic on 13 March 1922. William Powell was one of the faculty members; other instructors may have included Drs. Ernest Wiese, William B. Chandlee, Sadie Wolf and LaValley. His school, located in the Stubbs Building, offered an 18-month curriculum, but may have lasted only one year, reportedly owing to the gambling debts of its president, P.O. Riley, Ph.D. Another account suggests that the school continued to function until 1924. The students were absorbed by the Pacific Chiropractic College. The students were absorbed by the Pacific Chiropractic College.

LaValley continued to practice in Oregon and was active in the affairs of the OCA for many years. 45–48 In 1915 he persuaded state senator Conrad Olson to sponsor a very broad-scope chiropractic bill, and then lobbied Governor James W. Whithycombe to sign the bill into law against the advice of the medical lobby. LaValley served two stints on the state board of chiropractic examiners (BCE),⁴⁹ the first during 1922–1929. He resigned from the BCE in 1940, and made an unsuccessful run for the state senate from Multnomah County.⁵⁰ Palmer's former partner prepared a brief autobiographical sketch in 1955; his life story was presented in the ICA International Review of Chiropractic the following year.²⁸ Dr. LaValley died in Milwaukee, Wisconsin 20 years later. 51 Neuropathy faded from view, only occasionally mentioned in the course offerings of chiropractic schools.⁵²

North-Western School of Chiropractic

Another training institution which operated in Oregon in this early period was the North-Western School of Chiropractic, Inc. (NWSC). The NWSC was located in La Grande, in the northeast corner of the state. An *Annual Announcement* for 1913–1914 suggests the school was then in its third year, and reveals a three-person administration who presumably also constituted the faculty. They were G.T. Darland, D.C., president and dean, Mrs. Mary V. Darland, D.C., Ph.B., Ped.B., secretary-treasurer, and Mrs. Grace D. Needham, A.B., vice president. The source of the Darlands' chiropractic training is not known. A class of eight graduates in 1913 are depicted in the catalogue. The NWSC offered a 12-month curriculum (two "years" of six months each), with the promise of an expanded program in the future.

The school claimed an extensive osteological collection, and hoped to "soon add an X-Ray machine". Tuition was \$300, and a high school diploma was not needed to enroll. The catalogue suggested an extensive curriculum (see Table 5), but given the brevity of the curriculum and minimal staff, the quality of these courses must be questioned. The remoteness of La Grande from Portland suggests that there was little reciprocal influence between this school and those in the Portland area. How long the NWSC may have functioned is not known, but Ferguson and Wiese⁵⁴ report a "North Western Chiropractic School" in 1923, location unknown.

Pacific Chiropractic College

The PCC had expanded its curriculum to four semesters totaling 2,896 hours by 1913.⁴ Prospects for passage of a chiropractic statute, accomplished in 1915, may have been part of the impetus for this development. Classes were apparently split between two campuses,⁴ and the college graduated only a dozen students that year.⁵⁵, p. 20

By 1915 the PCC counted 91 graduates since its September 1909 incorporation, including one allopathic physician, one dentist, an osteopath, and five chiropractic post-doctoral students.^{55, pp. 19–20} A staff of five was listed in the school's catalogue (see Table 6), and two teaching positions were vacant. The curriculum comprised four terms over two years; tuition was \$150 per year, and the cost of books for both years was estimated at \$75. A high school diploma or successful completion of an entrance exam were required for admission. The college was located in the Commonwealth Building in Portland.

A fairly well defined curriculum was in place, which included anatomy (dissection, osteology, histology, cytology, sphlanchnology, neurology, angiology), bacteriology, chemistry, dietetics, jurisprudence, physiology, chiropractic philosophy, physical examination, minor surgery, obstetrics, chiropractic analysis and adjusting. The catalogue demonstrated a well organized class schedule

for each of the terms (see Table 7). A free public clinic provided students with clinical experience in every term of the program.

An unpublished account of the school's early years, written in 1962 by the then editor of the *Oregon Association of Chiropractic Physicians Journal*, suggested that Powell was succeeded as president of the PCC in 1914 by the school's dean, Dr. H.E. Kehres. 44 Kehres, it was suggested, may have been an allopathic physician. Whether this was so is unclear, but the subjects he taught (Table 6) lend credence to this notion.

Oscar W. Elliott, D.C., Ph.C., M.C., apparently a student²⁵ or recent graduate of the school, purchased the assets of the PCC from Powell and associates in 1915. Powell continued in his McMinnville, Oregon practice for many years, and died at age 80 in 1949.⁵⁶ Ritter⁴ indicates that Elliott had practiced medicine in Missouri and Texas before coming to Oregon, but he never listed a medical degree in the available college literature. The school was once again a for-profit operation, governed by a five-man Board of Directors (4 DCs and one attorney) elected by shareholders.⁵⁷ Elliott relocated the school to Seventh Street and Yamhill in Portland, and later to 125 Grand Avenue North. A student revolt took place in 1916–1917, led by Dr. Leonard Hasfad, and resulted in the short-lived

Table 5 "Subjects taught" at the North-Western School of Chiropractic, 1913–1914

Anatomy	Diagnostics	Palpating	Special Lectures Upon:
Bacteriology	Dietetics	Pathology	First Aid to Injured
Chemistry	Histology	Physiology	Minor Surgery
Chiropractic Philosophy	Hygiene	Symptomatology	Business Ethics
Chiropractic Principles	Medical Jurisprudence	Urinalysis	Right Living
Clinic	Orthopedia		Obstetrics
	-		Psychology

Table 6
Trustees, administrators, faculty and courses taught at the Pacific Chiropractic College, 1915*

<u></u>		<u>.</u>			
William O. Powell, Ps.D., D.C., Trustee, President, Director of	J.A. Goode, D.C., <i>Trustee</i> , Department of Physiology	Lester E. Couch, A.B., LL.B., Chiropractice Jurisprudence			
Clinics, Principles & Practice of	H.E. Kehres, A.B., Dean of the College,				
Chiropractic	Anatomy, Gynecology, Obstetrics, Physical				
A.N. Briggs, D.C., Trustee	Diagnosis, Minor & Operative Surgery				
*Two positions were vacant: Laboratory Director and instructor in EENT.					

Table 7 "Schedule for Senior Year, Second Semester, 1916–1917" (55, p. 14)*

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	
Dietetic Lecture	Pathology Lecture	Dietetic Lecture	Pathology Lecture		Pathology Lecture	
Operative Surgery	Pathology Laboratory	Operative Surgery	Pathology Laboratory	Eye, Ear, Nose & Throat Lecture Operative Surgery Lecture	Pathology Laboratory	
Clinics	Clinics	Clinics	Clinics	Clinics	Clinics	
Obstetric Lecture	Hygiene & Sanitation lecture	Obstetric Lecture	Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture	Obstetric Lecture	Minor	
Bacteriology Lecture	Hygiene &	Hygiene & Sanitation	Hygiene &	Bacteriology Lecture	Surgery Lecture	
Bacteriology Laboratory	Laboratory	Lecture	Laboratory	Bacteriology Laboratory	Obstetric Lecture	
Obstetrical Clinics	Clinics	Obstetrical Clinics	Clinics	Obstetrical Clinics	Clinics	
	Dietetic Lecture Operative Surgery Clinics Obstetric Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Obstetrical	Dietetic Lecture Operative Surgery Clinics Clinics Obstetric Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Clinics Clinics Hygiene & Sanitation lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics	Dietetic Lecture Pathology Lecture Operative Surgery Clinics Clinics Clinics Obstetric Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Clinics Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Clinics Obstetric Lecture Obstetric Clinics Obstetric Obstetrical	Dietetic Lecture Pathology Lecture Pathology Lecture Operative Surgery Pathology Laboratory Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Obstetric Lecture Sanitation lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Clinics Obstetric Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Obstetrical Clinics Obstetric Sanitation Lecture Clinics Clinics Clinics Obstetric Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Comparison Pathology Laboratory Pathology Laboratory Pathology Laboratory Pathology Laboratory Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Sanitation Lecture Sanitation Laboratory Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics	Dietetic Lecture Pathology Lecture Operative Surgery Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Clinics Obstetric Lecture Sanitation Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Hygiene & Sanitation Lecture Bacteriology Laboratory Laboratory Clinics Obstetric Lecture Clinics Obstetric Lecture Bacteriology Lecture Clinics Clinics Obstetric Lecture Clinics Obstetrical Clinics Obstetrical Clinics Obstetrical	

Table 8
Curricular subjects and hours, Pacific Chiropractic College, 1922*

Subject	Hours	Subject	Hours	Subject	Hours
Anatomy	150	Chemistry	120	Obstetrics	195
Histology	135	Pathology	270	Diagnosis	340
Physiology	260	Gynecology	105	Toxicology	40
Chiropractic Theory & Practice	1000	Hygiene & Sanitation	125	Minor Surgery	40

^{*} PCC's catalogue indicated that these were the minimum 2,400 hours required for licensure in Oregon, and that the "standard" three-year curriculum exceeded these by 1,500 hours; the above hours actually total to 3,140 hours.

Oregon College of Chiropractic Physicians and Surgeons".⁴⁴ The PCC offered a 3,400 hour training program by 1919,⁴ well in excess of the 2,400 hours required for licensure in the state.

By 1922 the PCC claimed a faculty of 12 instructors,

and offered the D.C., Ph.C. ("Philosophy of Chiropractic"), and M.C. ("Master of Chiropractic") degrees. Tuition for the six-semester, 21-month (three years of seven months each) doctoral program was \$450. If a spouse took the program concurrently, the second tuition



Figure 16Campus of the Pacific Chiropractic College at 125 Grand Avenue North in Portland, circa 1922.

was \$275. Those electing to take a fourth year of study received the Ph.C. The curriculum was organized into 12 subject areas (see Table 8). Ten years later the college magazine, *The Pacific Chiropractor*, claimed that students had come from "almost every state" and from as far away as Europe, India and New Zealand.

Along with many other chiropractic schools, the PCC's catalogue came in for harsh commentary in the October 1917 issue of *Canada Lancet*:

The Pacific Chiropractic College

Going now to the Pacific coast we find the following in the 1915–17 annual catalogue of the Pacific Chiropractic College, of Portland, Oregon, on page 17: "Chiropractic is a demonstrated, scientific system of mechanically removing the cause of disease, the hands only being used. It is drugless and is scientifically as far in advance of the ordinary drugless methods as these methods are in advance of the practice of experimental medicine."

The further one goes in the examination of this system of treatment the worse it becomes. In the foregoing statement there is boldest possible stand taken on the pedestal of ignorance and retrogradism. In the first place we are told that Chiropractic 'mechanically removes the cause of disease.' How false this is in fact of what we know about the etiology of disease. But this wonderful statement goes on to say the Chiropractic is as far in advance of other drugless methods as they are in advance of experimental medicine; and here the contention breaks down, for the very reason that these systems are not in advance of true medical science, and therefore Chiropractic cannot be. Founded on the false theory of D.D. Palmer, who was a sort of "magnetic healer," and knew nothing of science in general, far less of medical science in particular, Chiropractic, with a wave of the hand, dashes aside the experimental work of Jenner, Lister, Pasteur, Laveran,

Noguchi, Welch, Flexner, Koch, etc., etc. The Great Teacher was right when he said: 'Ye love darkness rather than light". 58

However, by this time, the DCs of Oregon were protected by their statute, and could afford to shrug off comments from remote provinces. As well, Elliott could afford to acknowledge⁵⁹ the scholarship demonstrated in Mabel Palmer, D.C.'s 1918 textbook, Chiropractic Anatomy, despite her husband's strong stand against the broad-scope curriculum that PCC offered. Nonetheless, Elliott brought the school within the orbit of the American Chiropractic Association, ⁶⁰ a protective society formed in opposition to the "straight" chiropractic policies of B.J. Palmer and his Universal Chiropractors' Association. He joined ACA president Frank R. Margetts, LL.B., D.C. on the podium at the OCA's convention in 1925 to discuss the legislative status of chiropractic in Washington State.⁶¹ Advertisements for the PCC appeared in the ACA's monthly Bulletin.

Oscar Elliott apparently lobbied the Oregon legislature

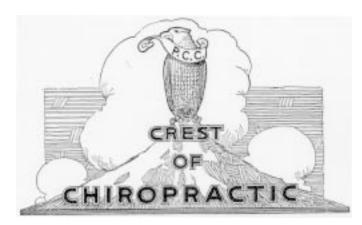


Figure 17 Emblem of the Pacific Chiropractic College, the "Crest of Chiropractic."



Figure 18 Dr. Lenore B. Elliott.

to raise the minimum hours of education necessary to sit for the licensing examination to 3,200, which it did in 1925.⁴ As well, the new law specified some of the curricular content, including some 400 hours in "physiotherapy, electrotherapy and hydrotherapy." Reportedly, the increased requirements worked to the competitive advantage of the PCC.

Oscar Elliott died on 4 December 1926, and the school came under the supervision his wife, Lenore. The nature of her doctorate is unknown to this writer. The academic dean during this second Elliott administration was N.S. Checkos, M.D., 4.44 who had been associated with the PCC for several years. 62 Dr. Checkos is said to have "assumed leadership of the college" following Oscar Elliot's death, 44 although Lenore Elliott is depicted as president in the school's catalogue. She "sold the material assets to Dr. W.A. Budden and Dr. H.A. McGlenning". 44

The age of Budden

William Alfred Budden was born in Farham, England on 17 September 1884. ^{16, pp. 318–9} He immigrated to Canada in 1903, and eventually taught economics at the University of Alberta. The young man moved to Montana circa 1917, ^{1, p. 64} and on the advice of his brother, Leonard, a 1920 alumnus of the National College of Chiropractic (NCC), relocated to Chicago to study drugless healing. Upon his graduation as a chiropractor in 1924, he joined the NCC faculty and impressed the school's president, William C. Schulze, M.D., D.C. ^{63,64} The feeling was mutual. ⁶⁵ When the NCC's dean and editor of the school journal, Arthur L. Forster, M.D., D.C., resigned in 1925, Budden was named to fill these posts. ⁶⁶ And so began a leadership career that would span nearly three decades and profoundly influence chiropractic education. Twenty

years later the NCC's president (1945–1983), Joseph Janse, D.D.T., D.C., N.D., lauded Budden's "academic integrity and scientific acuity, as well as his forceful determination to maintain chiropractic as a broad and liberal concept and system of therapy".⁶⁷



Figure 19 Campus of the Lindlahr College of Natural Therapeutics and Lindlahr Sanitarium, Elmhurst, Illinois, 1919.

The NCC was rapidly evolving in the 1920s, and Budden was a significant factor in this process. The institution absorbed the Lindlahr College of Naturopathy in 1926,⁶⁷ and introduced one of the first four-year courses in the profession in 1928.^{1, p. 65} The National College of Drugless Physicians (NCDP) was also organized that same year, and its coursework complemented the clinical training at the non-profit Chicago General Health Service, established by the NCC the year before.^{1, p. 66} The NCDP offered doctoral degrees in drugless therapy, naturopathy and mechano-therapy (the later was necessary for licensure in Ohio). The NCC had few if any rivals for excellence in innovative chiropractic education in this period.

Budden's appointment as dean brought him in contact with the emerging educational establishment in the profession and with its most rapidly growing national membership society, the American Chiropractic Association (ACA). ^{68,69} The OCA affiliated with the ACA in 1928, ^{70,71} and was pleased with the assistance provided by ACA president Frank R. Margetts, LL.B., D.C. (a 1920 NCC graduate) in their defeat of a proposed basic science bill in Oregon. ⁷²

The Englishman's time in Chicago was personally productive. He sat for the examinations offered by the Illinois Board of Medical Practice and was awarded a license as an



Figure 20 Dr. William A. Budden was featured on the cover of the February 1950 issue of the *National Chiropractic Journal*.

"Other Practitioner". 73 His pen yielded numerous well-received articles for various periodicals, 74 and he co-authored a textbook on physiotherapeutics. 75 However, he and wife Kathryn, who served as NCC registrar, may have "pined for the northwest". 1, pp. 65, 232

The Buddens bought the PCC from Lenore Elliott on 17 January 1929, just nine months before the legendary crash of the stock market. The purchase price was \$20,000, and included "the college, its accessories and equipment". Ownership was transferred to the college corporation in August of that year, but this may not have spared the couple from the economic hardships that befell them and the nation. Facing bankruptcy and eviction for non-payment of rent, the PCC's board suspended operations on 5 July 19324 and hired Budden for \$75/month to settle the



Figure 21 New campus of the Western States College, circa 1938.

school's affairs.⁷³ It must have seemed that the institution, then in its 28th year, would train no more chiropractors.

However, Budden was determined and resourceful. The PCC was re-incorporated in 1933 as the Western States College, School of Chiropractic and School of Naturopathy, which in turn became a division of the non-profit Health Research Foundation (HRF), also established by Budden, in October 1937.⁷³ The HRF consisted of 22 members, with Budden its president, Ross Elliott, D.C. as vice president, and Elam Amstutz its secretary-treasurer.⁴⁴

Like Budden's Chicago alma mater, the reborn Portland institution offered a four-year course of training and one of the broadest curricula available in the profession. Consistent with the liberal Oregon law, obstetrics and minor surgery were taught and practiced at the college for decades to come, and long after majority sentiment in the profession had rejected (or forgotten) these practices as a legitimate part of chiropractic practice. Palmer might term Western States the "sinkhole of mixing", but Budden and his faculty were adamant in their determination to produce well-educated "chiropractic physicians."

"Cheek by Jowl with Innate"

Budden's vision of the chiropractor brought him in conflict with the Davenport guru repeatedly. Oregon introduced a "basic science law"⁷⁸ in 1933,^{65,79} and though not happy with its provisions, Western States' president thought that it could be satisfactorily amended⁸⁰ to the benefit of the profession, by placing the basic science examinations within the control of the individual licensing authorities (e.g., medicine, chiropractic, osteopathy). Not surprisingly, the reaction of the Oregon's medical lobby was vehement opposition; Budden listed some of the outrageous claims made by political medicine:

"If this measure should carry, every accredited Oregon hospital would immediately lose its national rating as an approved or standardized hospital."

"If this proposal is adopted it would be impossible for such projects (the Bonneville dam) to be carried on within our state. The probable result would be that thousands of our people would be thrown out of employment or forced to leave Oregon for other states, none of which suffer from such vicious legislation."

"If this bill passes, Oregon will soon be known throughout the country as a state unsafe for tourist travel." It is perhaps needless to state that the hospitals were specially exempted from the amendment and, in any case, protected by the right of contract, that tourist travel could not under the most extreme interpretation of the measure have been affected, and that the statement that this amendment would stop the building of the great federal dam at Bonneville or increase unemployment is incredibly stupid. Such, however, was the nature of the propaganda issued, alas, over the signatures of ministers of the gospel and attorneys.

It was indeed an astonishing campaign. The writer has in the course of a long life seen some tough political encounters, but never before has he witnessed prostitution of mentality, debauching of the avenues of information, wholesale falsification, slander, libel, and wanton calumny so extensively and so callously used. No doubt, there were medical men and decent citizens who felt utterly ashamed as they were compelled to contemplate the barrage of twaddle and verbal garbage which was let loose. Certainly, many of the better practitioners of medicine voted for the amendment, as did a large number of druggists and dentists; some medical men of note in the state came out openly for it.

The monopoly propaganda machine said amongst other things:

"Students of drugless schools go to school only six months and then graduate to become dope peddlers. If this amendment passes, there will be a dope shop outside every high school plying its trade of debauching girls and boys, unrestricted by the state."

Old women (poor souls) went up and down the streets crying that if the amendment passes, all old age pensions would cease and all homes and institutions for the care of the aged and indigent would be closed.

One imagines they believed it, but what is one to think of the type of mentality which suggested such bare-faced falsehood.

These are but feeble samples; there was much more from the same cess-pool and of the same brand of bilge.

To the credit of the drugless physicians be it said that they remained remarkably good tempered under the attack and did their best to rivet the attention of the voters upon the point at issue – the amendment itself, refusing to indulge in the debasing methods employed by their opponents.⁸¹

As distressing as the attack from the medical community was, it paled in comparison to the anger generated by Palmer's interference with the legislative efforts of Or-



Figure 22 Dr. B.J. Palmer in Long Beach, California, 1931.

egon's chiropractors:

The closing days of the campaign were perhaps the most painful, not because of the attitude of the medics, but because they brought to light what appeared to be clear evidence that an erstwhile leader of the Chiropractic world had gone over to the enemy irrevocably – that he had, in fact, burned his boats.

Two days before the election the state newspapers carried large advertisements advising the people that "America's Leading Chiropractor, B.J. Palmer – agrees with the entire medical profession of Oregon" in urging people to vote against the amendment and for the strengthening of medical monopoly.⁸¹

The amendment failed, and Budden directed his pointed wit at his dual opponents, organized medicine and B.J. Palmer:

It is difficult to evaluate the effect of this intervention. One thing is sure – that the public is now aware that those who are striving to keep Chiropractic from becoming the tail of the medical kite are NOT found in Davenport, Iowa, but on the western coast where for the first time a small body of drugless physicians, chiropractors and naturopaths, directed a frontal attack on the medical monopoly. Pure and undefiled as the motives of Palmer MAY BE, the reasoning citizen will never be able to reconcile the act of stabbing one of the contestants in a battle in the back, as anything but an attempt to help his opponent. A confederate is a confederate, no matter **HOW** he may seek to disguise the impulse driving him on.

It is also laughable to note the reaction on the part of the medics. They do not hail their new-found ally with any degree

of enthusiasm. Two years ago the Senate of the Oregon Legislature was treated to a mordant and bitter attack on the Palmer school by the medical senators, in fact, by the very gentlemen who now find themselves cheek by jowl with innate intelligence and the Ductus Palmer!!! Ah, well, there must be some fun to every battle, and certainly we are all enjoying a hearty laugh over the above.⁸¹

Budden took this legislative defeat in stride and re-invigorated his efforts to improve chiropractic training. Drawing on his sense of humor, he decided that the battle was lost, but the war would continue:

We have discovered and demonstrated the value of a united front. We have learned to work together, and, finally, we have been somewhat unwillingly driven to the conclusion that when next we close with the monopolists in the healing arts it will be necessary to use mud against mud, and Ye Gods! What unlimited quantities of the sweetest kind of mud we have at our disposal.⁸¹

The legacy

The next 20 years of his life demonstrate single-minded commitment to the continuing cause of improving chiropractic education. Budden served for several years as editor of *The Bulletin* issued by the Oregon Association of Chiropractic Physicians (successor to OCA), and enthusiastically contributed more than 100 articles⁸² to the pages of *The Chiropractic Journal*, published by ACA's successor, the National Chiropractic Association (NCA). He was an early⁸³ and wholeheartedly committed participant in the educational reform efforts of the NCA, begun by C.O. Watkins, D.C. at the NCA's Los Angeles convention in 1935^{84,85} and furthered by John J. Nugent, D.C.'s 20 years (1941–1961) as NCA director of education.⁸⁶ Budden was



Figure 23 Emblem of the NCA Council on Public Health, 1943.

especially active in the NCA's Council on Public Health, and many of his writings reflect his interest in this area.

When he died in 1954 following an automobile injury, the chiropractic community knew it had lost an important member. Nugent penned a tribute which appeared in the December issue of the NCA's *Journal*; it was reprinted in the first issue of *Chiropractic History* (p. 22):

As much as any man in our profession, he espoused and introduced high education standards in our schools.

An important and forceful representative of our interests, his authoritative voice was respected and listened to in our legislative halls.

To many, Dr. Budden's passing will mean that a great chiropractor, thinker, and educator has passed into history. And that is so! He was one of chiropractic's great. But, those who knew him intimately know that a great man has left us. Dr. Budden would have been an imposing figure in any field in which he chose to labor.

His intellectual powers, his incisive thinking, his keen wit and brilliant clarity of expression marked him as a leader of men.

He was a vigorous and indomitable fighter for truth as he saw it, for freedom of the individual, and, above all, for intellectual integrity.

He hated cant and hypocrisy. He despised the shallow mind. In the battle against these he asked no quarter and gave none. Only the discerning could fully appreciate him; to others he was incomprehensible.

We shall miss him sorely. The chiropractic profession has suffered an irreparable loss.

Yet he has left us much of himself. Hundreds of chiropractors, unto the second generation, have sat at his feet and to them he has passed on something of his profound scholarship and his undaunted spirit ...

Budden's legacy is so large that it tends to dwarf the accomplishments of those who preceded him in chiropractic education in Oregon. Those pioneers, from Marsh to Palmer to Budden, built a profession and an educational system from the ground up, with little help from government and with great opposition from political medicine. They forged a tradition of chiropractor as "physician" that was rarely matched elsewhere, and despite considerable opposition from within the profession. And they produced generations of chiropractors (see Table 9) who



Figure 24 Dr. Albert Earl Homewood earned his chiropractic doctorate from Western States College in 1942 (photo courtesy of Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College).

would themselves contribute significantly to chiropractic health care, perhaps most especially the future president of Canadian Memorial Chiropractic College, Dr. A. Earl Homewood, who took his training under Budden during the early days of World War II.

Western States College has struggled on through the decades since Budden's demise. The school eventually divorced itself from naturopathic education, as the NCA

had been urging since 1939,⁸⁸ but maintained a very broad instructional program. Reborn as the Western States Chiropractic College in the 1950s, it has continued to operate under a number of leaders (see Table 10). Its faculty has earned a reputation for their commitment to evidence-based practice.⁸⁹

Still not well known in the profession, the saga of chiropractic education in Oregon merits further study.

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$Table \ 9$ Several prominent graduates of the Western States College and its predecessor institutions, through 1942*

William Martin Bleything, N.D., D.C., PCC, circa 1908 Frank L. Finnell, D.C., O.D., PCC, 1918 A. Earl Homewood, D.C., N.D., LL.B., WSC, 1942 John E. LaValley, D.C., DDPCC, 1909 Frank C. Mighton, D.C., PCC, 1915 William O. Powell, Ps.D., D.C., MSC, 1905 Gordon V. Pefley, D.C., Ph.C., PCC, 1926 Peter L. Poulsen, D.C., D.P.T., PCC, 1927, 1929

* Key to abbreviations: D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic (DDPCC); Marsh School & Cure (MSC); Pacific Chiropractic College (PCC); Western States College (WSC).

Table 10 Presidents of the Western States College and its predecessor institutions

Marsh School & Cure
John E. Marsh, 1904–1907

Pacific College of Chiropractic
John E. Marsh, 1907–1909

D.D. Palmer College of Chiropractic
D.D. Palmer, 1908–1910?

Oregon Peerless College of Chiropractic-Neuropathy
John E. LaValley, 1910?–1913?

Pacific Chiropractic College, Inc.
William O. Powell, 1909–1912?
Edwin F. McKee, 1912?–1914?
H.E. Kehres, 1914?–1915?
Oscar W. Elliott, 1915–1926
Lenore B. Elliott, 1926–1929
William A. Budden, 1929–1932

Western States College
William A. Budden, 1932–1954
Robert E. Elliott, 1956–1974
Samuel G. Warren, 1974–1976
Richard H. Timmins, 1976–1979
Herbert J. Vear, 1979–1986
William H. Dallas, 1986–??

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